UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIII THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 1924 NUMBER 7

IMMORTALITY

1

Not death is to be feared,
But to have lived and yet not to have lived.
More to be feared than the most horrible death
Is the half-and-half life of him who goes dragging through the world like one drugged.
There is nothing worse for a man
Than to be satisfied to be a half-man living a half-life;
To be satisfied to let the light that is in one remain darkness,
Never to have been kindled by a touch of the divine flame.
This is tragedy—this counterfeit of life—
To carry within one an unrealized glory,
To have eyes without seeing and mind without vision.

It matters not what it is that wakens us to life;
The only evil is not to be wakened.
Perhaps nothing will so completely waken us
As this that we call "death."
Whatever it costs of birth and death;
Whatever it costs of incarnation and reincarnation;
However many rounds of existence may be required,
There is that in the human soul that belongs to immortality—
A something that is more than human and infinitely greater than personality.
A divinity sleeps in man that is to be quickened into life
By the love of beauty.

Not the persistence of self is immortality;
Not the fulfilment of private and personal desires,
But to have truly learned to feel and to love the beauty of the unity of all
And so, but for one moment, to have tasted fundamental life.

Having known self;
Having progressed from less to greater consciousness of self-hood;
Having tested to its uttermost the futility of self,
One will come eventually to realize that there is no reality
Except in the surrender of self.
What we individually are is to what we spiritually are
As the seed that must die in the soil
Is to the flower for the love of which it gladly dies.
We are to come to know and to rejoice in the knowledge
That as souls we exist spiritually for the sake of the communion of souls;
And that there is no immortality except in the perfection
Of our universal relation one to another.
This is the primary and essential principle of immortal life
That we have put off the personal and private self-hood
And have found our place in the completeness of things as members one of another.
The primary and essential principle of life is unity;
The very soul of our soul is unity—
A unity that has become in us the reason and reality of our being.

2.

I see hidden within the most unlovely exteriors
The beauty of God.
The least attractive of my fellowmen,
However much his outward form and manner repel me,
Is yet and notwithstanding as essential to the perfection of my being,
As I am essential to the perfection of his.
We are equally necessary to the completement of life.
The trodden dust of this dark earth is, not less
Than the sum of the heaven's blazing stars,
Equally necessary to the completement of life.
It were stupid not to acknowledge stupidity,
And as silly as silliness to condemn silliness.
Every wisest superman is a product of the blend of all manner of experiences
And has amalgamated into his sum of wisdom
Innumerable scraps of error.
Verily, men are like trees walking,
And as the rustling of dry leaves are the words they speak—
The slightest breeze and their tongues waggle.
But see you, earth's amplitude provides for all.
The very ground humps itself into the form of man,
The rocks, the soggy clods, the mud of earth—
Like one in slumber stirred by dream.

3.

We have not yet learned to use half our powers;
At very best we use only imperfectly a small part
Of that which we potentially are.
We are not so much alive as we are asleep.
A life in which only a part of man's powers are used
Is clearly only a part of life.
Souls have to live many partial lives
In order to learn how to live a whole life.

4.

We are yet to become one with one another
In the immortal oneness of life—
We are to be animated to life itself,
Inspired by the sense of its unity
And so filled with the divine consciousness of the world as a whole
That seen and unseen elements to the remotest limits of time and space
Will be definitely, clearly and irresistibly felt and loved
As life of our life, soul of our soul, the everlasting Me!
This spiritual realization of life shall be attained for all by each and for each by all,
And once attained never to be lost.
Let us have, therefore, no more denials,
No more unwelcome contacts, no more divided mentality,
And no more repudiation of anything, however bitter-hard,
Through experience of which the consciousness of Man is lifted
Above confusion into clearness of understanding.

Attainment is thine, O Soul!
Divine attainment!
When thou seekest it for all!

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

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VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

The report of the Dawes Commission indicates plainly enough that the same treatment accorded Austria and Hungary, is now going to be applied to Germany. In other words, the conspiracy of the Allied banking interests to get a strangle-hold of the unhappy peoples of central Europe, is to be extended to its final great conquest. The military defeat of 1918 is to be consummated in the economic enslavement of 1924! The central feature of the Dawes report, of course, is the loan to Germany by the English or more probably the American banks. This loan is to be used to enable Germany to resume at once, without a moratorium, her reparation payments. But if this is the case, why make any loan at all? Why not, by agreement among the nations to whom Germany owes money, cancel their debts in an amount equal to what Germany is asked now to pay through the assistance of the loan? Why not, indeed—if not for the perfectly simple reason that, if the same end were accomplished by cancellation instead of by loans and reparations, Germany would not be bound down to interest and capital payments on the loan, to the vast financial profit of the international bankers. In other words, what is desired is not the financial relief of France and Belgium, but the economic enslavement of Germany! Like Austria and Hungary, Germany is to be made a financial and hence political dependency of the Allies, after the now standardized pattern of the various colonies, mandatories, etc., scattered about the world. As a device for enabling the victors to feed upon the defeated, this Dawes plan is excellent. As a program for the rehabilitation of Europe, it is worse than futile.

In the military operations of the Great War, an attack at the front was always preceded by artillery preparation. What was called a "barrage" was laid down —that is, vast masses of cannon concentrated their fire upon the particular point in the enemy's lines which was to be assailed, and so far as possible blew it to pieces. This insured the success of the attack if it was itself successful, or at least a minimum of loss in the operation. All this is brought to mind by what is now going on in this country in the field of public opinion. Suddenly, within a period of weeks, a great "barrage" of French propaganda has been let loose upon the American people. This propaganda takes two forms—first, a renewed assault upon the Germans as "Huns," with vivid reminders of the old-time war atrocities, and secondly, a renewed exaltation of the French as the outraged guardians of civilization, and all the rest. This propaganda employs two devices to accomplish its ends—first, it manufactures news unfavorable to the Germans and favorable to the French, and secondly, it suppresses news favorable to the Germans and unfavorable to the French. This propaganda is handsomely aided and abetted by American newspapers, "movie" directors, patriotic societies, etc., and also by characteristic German stupidity, as witness the flag episode at Wilson's funeral, and the recent oration of that prize fool and blackguard, Herr Stresemann. And it is all in preparation for what? Why, the Dawes report! This whole campaign is a "barrage" preceding the attempt of the Poincaré government either to destroy this report, if it be favorable to Germany, or, as is much more likely, to use this report, which will undoubtedly fulfil all French desires, to wipe out Germany and the German people at last for good and all, just as the recent cabinet changes at Paris were a move on the part of Poincaré for strategic position to this end. In other words, America is being used again today, as she was in 1917-18.

All this is plain! Not so plain, but equally plausible, is the bearing of this "barrage" of propaganda upon the work now under way for the relief of starving German children. It seems incredible that anybody could deliberately lift a finger to interfere with the raising of funds to feed the hungry—especially little children, most of them born since 1914. Yet it is certain that the indirect if not the intentional effect of French propaganda is to embarrass this relief work; and we happen to know, as a matter of fact, that the cause is meeting with increasing difficulties. Only the other day, for example, we were told with the utmost positiveness, that there is practically no chance of the bill, appropriating $10,000,000 for the succor of the Germans, passing the U. S. Senate. As for the public appeals of such a committee as General Allen's they are not beginning to receive the response which they deserve and must have if millions of innocents are not to die in Germany. Something is wrong somewhere; and we cannot believe that the trouble is with the American people. They have never failed yet to answer to the cry of "Help," if this cry was allowed to reach their ears. Even in the case of Bolshevik Russia, with all the prejudice that was running rampant against the "reds," our country did not fail. But in the case of Germany, relief is lagging. And we cannot find any reasonable cause except in clogged or poisoned channels of information. It looks, in other words, as though the American people were being propagandized into indifference or hostility. If so, it is a crime of the first order—a wickeder thing than anything done during the war itself.

The proposal to base the percentage of immigrants allowed from any nation on the census of 1890, is based on the theory that the more desirable immigrants are from northern Europe. Previous to 1890, immigration was predominantly from England, Ireland, Scandinavia, and Germany. With the assumption of the superiority of the northern group, there goes the assumption of the inferiority of the people from the Mediterranean basin. And yet, for three thousand

years, our modern civilization has gone back for its inspiration and ideals to this assumed inferior group of people! It is only for a few hundred years, at most, that the northern peoples of Europe have made any contributions to civilization at all. Our culture has its roots in the south of Europe. If these southern people are inferior to what they were when they were standing upon the advance line of human progress, it is mostly due to the admixture of northern blood, for practically the only changes in the so-called racial characteristics of the people of the Mediterranean, during the past two thousand years or more, have come as a result of the migration of northern peoples into southern territory. There is no reason to believe that the people from Italy or Greece may not become as good citizens and as thoroughly devoted to American ideals as the people from the northern part of Europe. There may be reasons for restriction of immigration at the present time, but there is no justification in experience or history for this discrimination against the people of southern Europe.

We might admit, for argument's sake, that the Catholics, Jews, and Negroes present a real problem to the American people. We might even admit that the problem is serious and something should be done about it. This in no wise means that the methods used by the Ku Klux Klan are ones which will help solve the problem. A wise cardinal of an ancient church said: "Mine enemy is my helper." If anyone wants to strengthen the Catholic church, or to consolidate the Jewish people into a group antagonistic to all other groups, or to make the so-called Negro problem more intense, all he needs to do is to pursue the methods of the Klan. We ought to have learned a long time ago that hatred and contempt simply will not work. The Negro cannot be exterminated; the Jew is here to stay; the Catholic is not going to give up his religion. This means that we have got to learn to live together on terms of mutual good will. Many good people are honestly alarmed by the problem created by the presence of different elements in our American life. They fear the Catholic church; they do not understand the Jew; the Negro is black and therefore must be kept in his place. These are honest opinions, and because of them unscrupulous and unworthy leaders have been able to mass together very large numbers of the American people in blind and unreasonable attacks upon other Americans, so that, instead of helping to solve the problem of developing in America a common phase and purpose, groups of people are being driven farther and farther apart. Lawless outbreaks by the leaders of the Klan in various parts of the country are an attack upon the very fundamentals of the American people. It is high time that we learned in America that we must live together, and can do so, if we will, not only peaceably but happily.

The basis of all ancient religions was, and is, fear. The fear of the wrath of the gods impelled men to do anything and everything that human minds could conceive to placate or forestall their anger. Not only the fruit of the field, the first-born of the flocks, were sacrificed to this Unseen Power, but even little children. This is the theory of giving what one loves most. Ibsen's "Brand" reveals the heartless and pitiless logic of such a philosophy of life. In the name not only of liberty, but also of religion, have countless crimes been committed against the weak and innocent. The weakness of Modernism lies in the fact that it endeavors to unite our present-day ethical idealism with religions based on man's fear. We have, thanks to modern science, slain most of the ancient devils and dragons. They have gone the way of the gods with long, white beards, who sat on thrones in the clouds. But the Modernist hardly knows this. He is engaged in the impossible task of trying to keep new wine in old bottles. He tries to make over the cruel gods into beneficent ones. He seeks to put new meanings into ancient formulæ. He faces the past and not the future. He endeavors to prove that what he thinks and says is not a denial of the old. He fails to face the fact that a new religion is being born in the world, based not on hate, or fear, or even sacrifice, but on the faith men have acquired in the power of good will to bind men together into a community of seekers of the truth. This is not the old religion, but the new religion, the foundations of which are being laid in these days of stress and strife.

The presence of Bertrand Russell in this country must be a source of satisfaction to every lover of clear thought, honest speech and dauntless courage. Famous for years as one of the great mathematicians of the world, Mr. Russell sprang suddenly into a new and very different kind of fame when in 1914 he took the extreme pacifist position and opposed the war. He was one of the first to emphasize that this struggle was caused not by a malevolent conspiracy on the part of Germany, but by a diplomatic situation to which all the great powers had selfishly contributed. He was one of the first to foresee and portray the moral and spiritual degeneracy which was bound to follow after the event. Above all did he proclaim, what is now so tragically obvious, that the early ending of the war on any terms was better than its continuance to the ultimate issue of universal disaster. These views, supported by abundant knowledge, illumined by ardent non-resistant idealism, stated in a literary style of marvellous clarity and beauty, he set forth during the war in a series of volumes—"Justice in War Time," "Why Men Fight," "Proposed Roads to Freedom," etc.—which are classics of their kind. From a statement of his pacifism on the war issue, Mr. Russell was led, inevitably, to a critical survey of our industrial civilization, and stands

today as one of the ablest and most radical teachers of thoroughgoing social reconstruction. Like so many pioneers before him, Mr. Russell paid the price of heresy. Thus he served a term in prison for utterances deemed prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war. He was dismissed from his professorial chair at Cambridge University for the same cause. It is also interesting to recall on this particular occasion that he was refused by his government a passport to come to America while the war was on. It is a proud and happy thing to do honor to this man. Time has justified his wisdom. His courage and idealism have ever justified themselves.

We are astonished, and also delighted, to find in the April issue of *Poetry* a glowing tribute to Byron, occasioned by the centennial anniversary of his death on the 19th of April, 1824. We had not imagined that the champions and exponents of the new poetry had any use for this greatest of the romanticists of a hundred years ago, but here is the high priestess, Harriet Monroe, declaring that "today (Byron) would seem to be secure of his rank among the great poets of his time." We agree! We have always been utterly unashamed in our reverence for Byron and his writings. We became acquainted with him early, read him with avidity, and still read him with joy only a little diminished from those youthful days. Our center of interest, to be sure, has shifted. Thus we were first moved by the narrative poems, "Lara," "The Corsair," "The Gaiour," in which Byron competed with his great rival, Walter Scott. Especially were we fired by the eloquent beauty of the second half of "Childe Harold," and the epic sublimity of "Manfred" and "Cain"; and to this day we read these mighty works with mingled awe and admiration, and with regret that the age of eloquence is gone. But mostly today we find delight in Byron's lyrics and songs. How beautiful they are —"She Walks in Beauty," "Oh, Snatched Away in Beauty's Bloom," "There Be None of Beauty's Daughters," "Maid of Athens, Ere We Part," "When We Two Parted," and so on! These are matchless pieces —as Miss Monroe well says, they "are among the treasures of the language." "Don Juan," usually and we suppose correctly rated as Byron's masterpiece, we have never cared for. The difficult stanza, handled by the writer with such marvelous facility, always bothers us; and, what is more important, the cynicism which grew steadily in Byron, is here dominant and disagreeable. We have always felt glad that this strain in his blood was at last purged away in the sacrificial heroism of his death in battle for the liberties of classic Greece.

Jottings

"Four years ago," says Dr. Smith O. Dexter, "pacifism was a hissing and a byword." Today he reports a statement of pacifism greeted by the Cambridge Alumni chaplains with profound applause. "How deep from the heart did it come! We shall know when the state next beats the drum." Perhaps! Meanwhile, was ever cause so quickly vindicated as the pacifism of the Great War period?

The Congregationalist has found the truth about the alleged danger of "red" propaganda.

"Most of this danger arises," says the *Congregationalist*, "from the yellow propaganda which is constantly operating for the suppression of free speech, and under the guise of patriotism carries on its own propaganda of self-interest."

Yea, verily! Witness Daugherty, Burns and company.

We cannot afford to dispense with criticism, controversy and condemnation for some time to come.

This is the opinion of Dr. Karl Reiland, of St. George's, New York, and we heartily concur. People who object to criticism and condemnation these days are simply stand-patters who have not the courage or the honesty to confess it.

The query is raised as to whether women, if generally admitted to the ministry, would not underbid men financially. The answer to that fear is "equal pay for equal work."

A reviewer, reading Louis Hémon's "My Fair Lady," states that he cannot see why there was so much excitement over "Maria Chapdelaine." Which is as though a critic, reading Shakespeare's "Two Gentlemen of Verona," should say that he cannot see why we should get excited about "Macbeth"!

The Board of Temperance of the Methodist Episcopal Church asserts that "no representative body in the world surpasses the American Congress in intelligence or character." For the first time we are tempted to despair utterly of the world.

J. H. H.

Immanuel Kant's "Eternal Peace"

It is long since there has been so important an anniversary in the intellectual world as the second centennial of the birth of Immanuel Kant, which comes on April 22. Kant was unquestionably the greatest thinker of modern times, many hold the profoundest thinker of all time. Kuno Fischer, in his great history of philosophy, said that if asked to name the world's three greatest philosophers one might well begin with the ancients and advance to the moderns. In the Greek age, one might balance between Plato and Aristotle; he felt that Plato was supreme by virtue of his greater originality and influence upon the world's life and thought. For the same reason, balancing between Descartes and Spinoza in the period of the dawn of modern philosophy, he awards the primacy to Spinoza. As to the first place among modern thinkers, all are agreed; Kant's pre-eminence is so patent that all subsequent philosophical thought must be considered in its relation to him.

Kant was the firstborn in the brilliant galaxy of genius which made the eighteenth century in Germany so illustrious. Lessing was born in 1729, five years after Kant; Goethe in 1749; Schiller in 1759. Of the great trio of post-Kantian idealists, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, only one ever saw Kant; Fichte once made a pilgrimage to Koenigsberg. In Koenigsberg, where he was born, Kant spent his entire life of eighty years, dying there in 1804—one year, it is interesting for us Americans to remember, after the birth of Emerson; the lives of the founder of Transcendentalism and of our own great Transcendentalist thus just overlapped.

Kant sleeps in a little chapel specially created from a corner in the old cathedral cloister, Schadow's bust above his grave, the curved front-wall of the chapel filled by a frescoed copy of Raphael's "School of Athens," and at the rear in high gold letters on a blue background the immortal words from his "Practical Reason," "The Starry Heavens above me and the Moral Law within me."

Kant's wonderings never took him beyond the city where he was born and the immediately surrounding province; yet curiously the study of geography and travel was one of his master passions, to such an extent that from time to time, for his own enjoyment, he gave courses of lectures on geography to his students in the university, along with his regular lectures on philosophy. He delighted to converse with men from other cities and other lands; and such visitors to Koenigsberg were numerous as his fame became world-wide, often finding the old philosopher more conversant than themselves with the details of the institutions of their own homes. Although he never married, and his industry was incredible, there was nothing of the pedant or the recluse about him; he loved society and his fellow-men. In his later life he almost always had guests to dinner, never less than three nor more than nine—"not fewer than the Graces," he said, "nor more than the Muses"—and there was nothing about which he was not interested and did not like to talk; one of his friends said that he could have written a Critique of Cookery as well as a Critique of Reason.

His love for his fellow men had far deeper roots than in sociability; they were in a profound humanitarianism, and this became more and more commanding the longer he lived, determining his speculations and teachings more and more to ethics, politics, and the peace and organization of the world.

> "By inclination," he once said, "I am an inquirer; I feel all the thirst for knowledge and the eager unrest of striving to advance, as well as satisfaction with every kind of progress. There was a time when I thought all this could form the glory of mankind; and I despised the rabble who knew nothing. Rousseau brought me to the right view. This blinding superiority vanished. *I learned to know men;* and I should regard myself as much more useless than the common laborers, did I not believe that this way of thinking could communicate a value to all others in establishing the rights of mankind."

"I have not yet lost my feelings for humanity," were the great philosopher's last words.

It was not until 1781, when Kant was almost sixty years old, that he published his "Critique of Pure Reason," the first of the three great Critiques which laid the foundation of modern metaphysics and moral philosophy. The "Critique of Practical Reason" and "Critique of Judgment" followed (1788 and 1790) with such subsidiary works as the "Metaphysics of Ethics" and "Religion within the Limits of Reason." Kant was one of the greatest mathematicians and astronomers of his age. To him, and not to Laplace, belongs the merit of the origin of the nebular theory; it has been truly said that had he never written anything but his "Universal History of Nature and Theory of the Heavens," he would have ranked as the first of the modern evolutionists and the founder of scientific cosmology.

It was Kant's intention to follow the three great Critiques with a "System of Politics"; but he was compelled in his seventy-seventh year to abandon this long cherished design. He could have given us nothing which we should have more highly valued. Happily the political essays which he wrote, and most of which were admirably translated by Mr. Hastie, the English Kantian, clearly indicate what the lines of his system of politics would have been. These essays have been gathered into a little volume, published by the World Peace Foundation in Boston, under the title of the greatest and most famous of the essays, "Eternal Peace." It is not extravagant to say that in the whole literature of the movement for world order and organization there is nothing else so profound or so memorable. Kant was the pre-eminent philosopher of the peace movement.

Kant's system of politics was simply our modern philosophy of internationalism, completely elaborated more than a century before Woodrow Wilson propounded his League of Nations at Paris and half a century even before William Ladd and Elihu Burritt here in America were writing and speaking about a Congress of Nations with a Court of the Nations as the true and only means to world peace and order. At the great International Peace Congresses in Europe in the middle of the last century, which were of American inspiration, and were chiefly organized by Elihu Burritt, the European workers popularly spoke of this as "the American way"; but Burritt, in his address at the Frankfort Congress in 1850, said:

> The name of Immanuel Kant is identified with it, and it would be an act of injustice to the memory of that remarkable man to ascribe to the American mind a plan which he had presented to the world with such clearness and force before it was ever mentioned on the other side of the Atlantic.

Kant's "Eternal Peace" was published in 1795, dur-

ing Washington's administration. The inauguration of our great experiment in self government was regarded with the profoundest interest by Kant, who had watched with keen anxiety and sympathy the course of both the American and French Revolutions. For the Koenigsberg philosopher, living under the Prussian absolutism of Frederick William II, was a pronounced and aggressive republican. He had himself just come into personal conflict with this Prussian tyranny. He began the publication of his "Religion within the Limits of Reason" serially in a Berlin periodical; but the outcry was such, in a public doubly inflamed by the radicalism and excesses in Paris, that the government put a stop to the publication. This was in 1792, and it was two years before he brought out the work at Koenigsberg, where as a professor at the university he had academic freedom and certain local rights. It was this status that made possible the publication of "Eternal Peace" and the other political essays, which must have been vastly more unpalatable to Frederick William II than Kant's religious writings.

"Eternal Peace" was not the first of Kant's programs of republicanism and internationalism. In 1784, eleven years before the appearance of "Eternal Peace," he published his essay on "Natural Principles of the Political Order," considered in connection with the idea of "Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View," which is yet bolder and more original than the more famous essay and, in view especially of its earlier date, more remarkable. "The greatest practical problem for the human race," Kant here says, "is the establishment of a civil society universally administering justice according to law"; and this early essay and "Eternal Peace" are alike devoted to pointing out how this imperative end is to be achieved.

How is it? It is in precisely the way which Woodrow Wilson has been proclaiming to us for the last half dozen years. One will not be suspected in this connection of "talking politics"; it is simple and easily verified history. Woodrow Wilson, himself more a philosopher than a politician, and a Kantian at that, was undoubtedly profoundly influenced by Kant's international thought, and his whole work at Paris was, whether consciously or not an heroic effort to realize that thought in the practical organization of the world. The peace and order of the world, said Kant, depend upon a cosmopolitan union of states, and this can only come about when the states of the world, or the controlling body of them, are free states. Peace and freedom go together, Kant held; and it was not accident, but logic, by which it was in the United States and England that the peace movement as an organized movement began—began just at the end of the era of the Napoleonic wars as, "Eternal Peace" was published just at its beginning. The only right government, he said, is republican government; to that the nations of the world are gravitating by the very urge of human nature; when enough nations have achieved it, they will unite in a "cosmopolitical institution"—Kant's word for Wilson's League of Nations—and then, and not until then, law will supplant war and we shall have a peaceful and co-operative civilization.

"The world must be made safe for democracy," Wilson said. Governments, repeating Jefferson, "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Everywhere "self-determination." We will negotiate with Germany when she establishes a government directly responsible to her people; and we will unite with her and all free peoples in a League of Nations, to end war and administer justice according to law. It is the same thing.

It was easy for Woodrow Wilson to say this in an atmosphere impregnated by the influence of a score of republics, a century of Peace Societies, a hundred international arbitrations and Hague Conferences. It was a stupendous and god-like adventure for Immanuel Kant in the Prussia of Frederick William II. It was lightning out of a clear sky. William Penn in his "Plan for the Peace of Europe," published a century before, was Kant's only real forerunner; but that remarkable essay had unhappily slight influence and was practically forgotten. It is doubtful whether Kant ever saw it, although he was undoubtedly acquainted with the peace writings of Erasmus, with Grotius, and with the "Great Design" of Henry IV. None of these, however, save measurably Grotius, were strictly precursors of his own immortal work. Immanuel Kant's "Eternal Peace" and his collateral writings are the Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, of the international world, its independence of that militarism, imperialism and bastard "patriotism" which constitute the original sin of nations and which have kept mankind in hate, fear, suspicion, jealousy and eternal war.

Kant showed the world, a century before Edith Cavell died for the truth, that "Patriotism is not enough." He showed us a century before Goldwin Smith declared it, that "Above all nations is humanity," and that any statesman who does not make that principle the corner-stone of his policy is doomed to failure. The follies of a whole generation of Treitschkes and Bernhardis had been exposed and undermined in advance by Germany's own great thinker as by no other, showing for all who cared to understand where militarism and absolutism inevitably lead; and his words are still written on the sky for all who need them.

There has really been no new fundamental principle added to the peace movement since the publication of Kant's "Principles of the Political Order" and "Eternal Peace." In one respect Wilson's practical plan for the League of Nations differed from Kant's prophecy and expectation; but that was owing to the changed conditions wrought in the century. Kant's thought was that the league would begin by the union of a few republican states, to which by a kind of political chemistry or affinity other like-minded states would gradually attach themselves, until the union grew large and powerful. The following passage from "Eternal Peace" may well have been inspired by his hope of the part which our new Republic, in which his interest was so keen, might play in the realization of his great vision.

> If happy circumstances bring it about that a powerful and enlightened people form themselves into a republic—which by its very nature must be disposed in favor of perpetual peace—this would furnish a center of federative union for other States to attach themselves to, and thus secure the conditions of liberty among all States, according to the idea of the right of nations; and such a union would extend wider and wider, in the course of time, by the addition of further connections of this kind.

Thus Kant may have conceived of our republic as the core of the League of Nations; as Edward Everett Hale certainly conceived it as the core of the World Court. This he explicitly declared in his memorable addresses on a Permanent International Tribunal, at the Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration, in three successive years beginning in 1895. Such a

World Court was imperative, and we were its natural proponent and would be its first adherent. What would Doctor Hale say could he return to Washington and find that, while the World Court exists, with one of our own great jurists as perhaps its most influential organizer, and another on its bench, elected by other nations than our own, with almost all the enlightened nations of the world among its adherents, we were out of it, and half of our Senators, on petty technical and partisan grounds, were fighting to keep us out?

Our "great refusal" in the matter of the League of Nations would seem to Kant the great irony of history. He could not have doubted that President Wilson's great proposal, which electrified Europe, would have found such proud and grateful response in America as would raise us, by the overwhelming acclaim of our Congress and our people, to commanding leadership in the new world order. That a policy of such solemn moment should be made the foot-ball of party politics would have reflected to him not only a pusillanimity that was revolting, but a recreancy to the aspirations of the founders of the Republic and to the principles of our whole record of international service and endeavor that was incredible.

The founders of the American Republic, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, were not only the greatest adventurers in democracy whom the world has seen, but the great peace advocates of their age. What Henry Adams wrote of Jefferson might almost have been written of them all.

> Jefferson aspired beyond the ambition of a nationality, and embraced in his view the whole future of man. He would not consent to build up a new nationality merely to create more navies and armies, to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe; the government should not be permitted to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the Old World a hell and frustrated the hopes of humanity. He wished to begin a new era. Hoping for a time when the world's ruling interests should cease to be local and should become universal, when armies and navies should be reduced to the work of police,—he set himself to the task of governing with this golden age in view.

That the republic of Washington and Jefferson should not only not have been the first to enter the League of Nations, by its hearty co-operation giving it instantly triumphant success and power, but should not have joined at all, while every other enlightened nation is faithfully doing its part; that the President of the Republic should even say to Congress but yesterday that the question of joining the League is for us "a closed incident,"—this Immanuel Kant simply could not understand.

At such a juncture in our national politics, as in the present mournful period in international affairs, the coming of the Kant centennial is singularly timely. Its observance should be serious, eloquent, and general. In every university and college in the land, Kant's contributions to thought and knowledge should be brought home to the students in their assemblies through addresses by the ablest students of Kant among the professors of philosophy, politics, German literature, and international law; and the pulpit also should pay its tribute, not only in commemoration of Kant's preeminent service for the commanding cause of the hour, but in recognition of his monumental work for an idealistic philosophy, for sound morals, and for rational religion. Sermons, lectures and celebrations, however, are not enough. If we honor Immanuel Kant, let us keep his commandments. EDWIN D. MEAD.

The Political Situation in China

These are days when it is hard to describe accurately the political system of any country. It is even more so of the system that is supposed to prevail in China. What, for instance, is the political system in Great Britain since a member of the Labor Party has been chosen as Prime Minister? What is, or what has been, the political system in Soviet Russia before and since the death of Lenin? Is Communism the prevailing system in Russia? Is Socialism the prevailing system in Great Britain? Are countries that are called Republics really Democratic? Are countries that are called Empires (at present there are only two) or Kingdoms any more imperialistic than those that are called Republics? One who answers these questions and sees how hard it is to make an answer will then appreciate the difficulties of describing accurately the present political system and the prevailing ideas that exist in the Republic of China. Because one has lived many years in China and is supposed to be familiar with Chinese conditions, this is no reason for regarding such an one as an expert or an arbiter on Chinese affairs. I myself have lived in China for over forty years and have known most of the ruling class under the Monarchy and in the Republic, but I confess that when I attempt to tell what are the actual conditions in China I can do but little more than make a surmise at it.

In general, the political system that prevails in China is not democratic. The people have no more rights, and they even have less protection under the Republic, than they had in the days of the Manchu rule. Our miscalculation of the present situation may be traced to a miscalculation as to what existed under the Manchu Monarchy. When the first revolution took place, it was generally declared that the monarchy was an autocracy, and that the Manchu Emperors were autocrats, but this was far from the truth. During the last few years before the fall of the Manchu dynasty, the government was a constitutional monarchy in which the rights of the people were guaranteed. The great Emperors of the Manchu dynasty always found themselves restricted by the decisions of the Ministers in Council. Even the Great Empress Dowager managed to retain her supreme authority because she followed the opinions of wise advisers, and also because she gave the officials wide scope for carrying out her Imperial decrees.

It is true that when the Republic was started after the first revolution, under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Dr. Wu Ting-fang, and others of similar kind, the system as outlined in the provisional constitution was much like that of the United States of America. However, the natural spirit of compromise came in and by yielding the Presidency to Yuan Shih-kai, the Republic yielded itself to one who still carried out the spirit of monarchy rather than the spirit of democracy. Hence it was that the start was not favorable to the expansion of democratic ideas.

Another great change took place in the year 1917. It was then that Li Yuan-hung was President and it is doubtless true that he was anxious to make a success of the Republic and that he believed that the Chinese

were ready for a Republic. Whatever drawbacks there were came from the fact that China could not separate herself from the rest of the world, and that she must take into consideration what was going on even in Europe. Hence it was that under pressure from the more advanced nations like the United States, Great Britain and France, China was advised to concern herself directly with the military and political issues that had arisen in the two groups of warring nations in Europe. The military element in China came to the front. Those who were called military governors were summoned to a conference in Peking by the Premier who was the leader of the military faction of the North, General Tuan Chih-jui. These men supported the Premier in his desire to bring China into direct relation with the Allied or Entente group of the nations at war, and definitely against the group of Central Powers. It is true that many of these men asserted that they were deciding in favor of that which was right, in favor of democracy, in favor of liberty, and in favor of liberal ideas. But these military men were hardly the ones to espouse such a beautiful theory. They were naturally militaristic. They had for years been seeking to get power into their own hands. Many of them had been greedy for gain and had amassed great wealth. Many of the richest men in China were those who held military position. Those who were inclined to methods of autocracy were in the military group.

It thus followed that the military governors by entering into the Great War became more militaristic and more autocratic. China drifted away from the spirit of democracy under the general influence that issued from the autocratic regime that prevailed everywhere under the exigencies of war. There might be a dream in China, as in the West, for a coming democracy. There might be a hope that the world, including China, was to be made safe for democracy. But certainly, during the four years of war, there was no possibility for democracy to assert itself.

China, therefore, having gone into the general drift of militarism and of autocracy has continued in that drift down to the present time. The military governors have increased in their power and also in their wealth. The Government of China is under the direction of militarists, not under the guidance of civilians or of the *literati*, as in the old days of the Manchu Monarchy. The last President, Tsao Kun, who has been elected by Parliament, is the recognized head of the strongest military faction in the North, or in all China. China is, therefore, a militaristic government, not a democratic government.

It is supposed by many in the home countries that the democratic element in China is represented by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and that those who want democracy and who favor liberal ideas are being oppressed by the militarism of the Central Government. This might be possible if Dr. Sun would only remain true to his professed ideas. He has had the chance to be the great leader of a democratic movement in China. But in his general attitude he has been as militaristic as the militarists whom he condemns. During the last year he has been waging warfare against a former associate who wanted to make a model of government in the Canton Province. He has also more than once called for a punitive expedition against the Government in Peking. He issues orders rather than consults the wishes of the people, even those who are educated as many of the merchants are. He talks of democracy, but relies on the forces of arms.

Thus it is that there is no great movement at present in favor of the overthrow of militarism except by methods of militarism. There is no way for securing a democracy except by fighting for it. The only way to get rid of certain great generals is for other generals or soldiers to rise up and kill them off. The only revolution that seems to be in mind is a bloody revolution. It is only strife added to strife, and the people continue to suffer.

It would be wise if the Chinese could learn from the English habit of bringing about changes by peaceful revolution and by constitutional methods. Whether China will thus learn or not is uncertain at the present time. Those who represent themselves as defenders of democracy seem more inclined to the French type of revolutionist or to the latest Russian type. The three revolutions which have arisen in one decade have not taught the Chinese the futility of continued military uprisings and civil strife. China has yet much to learn.

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Excommunication and Outlawry

As a result of the searching thought being given to the war and peace issue, one fact is steadily emerging into prominence above all else. It is the fact that the power of war in its grip upon mankind derives chiefly from the *status* which war has arrogated to itself in the system of civilization and from which no intelligent and courageous effort has ever been made to dislodge it. War is thoroughly respectable, heroic, legal and holy, according to the immemorial standards of human society. Next to the passion of love, it is the great theme of romance; it has woven itself into the curriculum of education through a militaristic interpretation of history; it has perpetuated its prestige at the centers of social attention by means of monuments erected to its heroes under the impulses of patriotism; it has rooted itself in the economic life of the nations by creating the assumption of its prior and major claim upon all tax funds; in modern times it has enormously enlarged its domain through the rise of the capitalistic state of which it has become the chief instrument; though breaking all laws, it is itself absolutely legal; and finally, though its existence means the failure of religion, it always receives the blessing of the church.

War is embedded so deep in the whole psychical and institutional life of mankind that when its full involvement in human affairs is once clearly discerned, any peace plan whatsoever which leaves war in its present status seems utterly illusory and hopeless. Plans for balancing power, for arbitration, for conference, for co-operation, and even for judicial procedure, which presuppose no change of status for war itself are merely tinkering with a social system that can be saved only by being born again. Tired of the superficialities of mere regulation and reformation, Professor Harry F. Ward cries out that nothing will save the world from war but the good old evangelical principle of regeneration, a genuine social experience of conversion by which this our greatest collective sin shall be abjured, and

cast off once for all. Once it is abjured, not by words but in deed and in truth, we may hope to conquer it; but so long as we allow it place and room in our body politic as a necessary and legal and holy thing, all our plans for regulating and reforming it are vain. Prof. John Dewey has never won fame or favor among orthodox Christians by his philosophical or social writings, but he landed fairly in the very center of the orthodox camp when in his debate with Professor Hudson he decried with impatience the endless sentimentalism about "steps, steps, steps" toward peace, while the thing that was needed was a right-about-face. "No advance in human history," said Professor Dewey, "that was of any great importance was ever made by taking steps along old lines." This sounds like Jerry McCauley speaking at the Water Street mission! But listen further:

> If there be somewhere some grinning devil that watches the blundering activities of man, I can imagine nothing that gives him more malicious satisfaction than to see earnest and devoted men and women taking steps, by improving a legal and political system that is committed to war, to do away with war. The fallacy which most paralyzes human effort today is the idea that progress can take place by more steps in the old wrong direction.

If the Christian church, in this matter of war, would only take counsel of its own genius instead of allowing itself to be seduced by secular thinking into paths that wind and wind and lead nowhere, it would discover that it held the secret of the abolition of war in the unfailing Christian doctrine that sin is vanquished by repentance and conversion rather than by ethical culture or reformation. The only practicable peace plan is the Christian "plan of salvation." The true social gospel is the age-old gospel of grace, the gospel of the new birth, which is as potent in the realm of institutional sin as in the realm of individual sin. In individual conversion what happens is that the soul shakes itself free —or by the grace of God is shaken free—of the love of sin and the tolerance of sin. There are steps enough to be taken after this initial experience, as all strugglers know, but our true spiritual guides have long since learned that to counsel merely the taking of steps is for blindness to lead the blind. Conversion in individual experience does not mean the attainment of moral security at a stroke, but it does mean that one's sin is now put where it can be successfully fought—it is constructively disengaged from the dominant purposes and passions of the soul, branded with its true name, its right to any inner status absolutely disavowed, and thus it is compelled to make its attack in the open. The world will be saved from the sin of war by no other principle than this eternal Christian gospel. Our leagues and our courts and our conferences, our arbitration treaties and our plans for whittling down armaments, ought to be regarded by the Christian church in precisely the same way that we of evangelical faith have regarded all schemes of personal salvation through methods of reform or ethical culture. We do not oppose them. On the contrary we favor them. But as we know that all schemes for personal character are an illusion so long as sin itself is not dealt with by an act of the soul which dislodges it from its inner status and denies its right to be even tolerated, so we should know with equal conviction that all plans for peace are illusory so long as war itself is tolerated in our body social as a heroic, a legal and a holy thing. Our first step, according to our Christian morality, is that of constructively casting out the evil thing, after which all our other steps, taken with intelligence, will carry us in the right direction.

It is just here that Christianity finds itself in alliance with the movement for the outlawry of war. This movement is the only proposal, among the innumerable plans under discussion, that thrusts its appeal into the very genius of our Christian faith. Other plans may be judged by reason alone; but this proposal to delegalize war, to disavow its immemorial status, to make it an outlaw, a criminal thing—this proposal reaches into that reservoir of historic Christian conviction and draws forth a flood of experience with which to back its obvious reasonableness. In all the world at this hour there is no place where the spiritual treasure of the church of Christ is more perilously at stake than at that parliamentary "table" in the United States senate on which lies Senator Borah's resolution for the outlawry of war. The church of Christ had a similar stake in the emancipation proclamation which de-legalized slavery. Again it had a similar stake in the eighteenth amendment which de-legalized the saloon. And if it does not now see how its own life-principle is involved in the fate of Senator Borah's resolution, it simply does not understand its own gospel.

This proposal of outlawry did not spring from the bosom of evangelical churchmanship—to our shame be it said. It was first formed in the mind of a distinguished Jewish lawyer and through him won the support of statesmen like the late Secretary Knox and Senator Borah, a social philosopher like John Dewey and a publicist like Raymond Robins. It makes one's Christian heart cry out to see Christian churches going to so much pains to get ballots on the thin, anæmic, and at best but vaguely relevant Bok Plan, while Mr. Levinson's great evangelical proposal for outlawry awaits a clear utterance of Christian public opinion before its senatorial sponsor takes it off the table. The really great thing this nation can do for peace is the simple, obvious, practicable, unentangling thing of announcing to the world that henceforth the United States holds war to be a crime, and inviting all enlightened nations to join us in a similar declaration and to co-operate with us in establishing a court at which all cases in dispute between nations will be tried and settled under a code of international law whose basic statute shall put war outside the pale of law.

And though the organized Christian church may not claim the honor of being the channel through which this proposal first found expression, there yet remains the priceless opportunity of bringing to pass its realization. The Christian church holds the key of world peace. It holds the key of peace because it holds the key of successful war. It is unthinkable that western civilization could brew another war if it knew the support of religion would not be forthcoming. Religion has kept war alive. It was the cloak of religion thrown over their cause that made Germans and Frenchmen and Englishmen and Americans willing to go forth to die in the last war. Religion divided the very body of God. Let the church now say to the state: You must not expect our blessing upon the next war. We now know that war is a condition which religion cannot bless. Our blessing is a falsehood. If we fling over war the cloak which religion wears, it is not until religion has abandoned its folds. If we use our words of faith and courage for the morale of warfare, they are empty of all religion when they pass our lips. If we loan you our ministry and our priesthood, they may

carry the prestige and illusion of religion, but religion itself refuses to go with them. If we open our church buildings and put our Christian agencies at the disposal of war, they are dechristianized at its touch. We cannot play this false game again! We can make no place for Mars at the Lord's table! War is excommunicate! We will not bless war again!

Let the church excommunicate war and the state will outlaw war!

—*The Christian Century.*

"Education for Moral Growth"*

During the progress of the Great War many words were spoken or printed on the subject of education. For the first time in history the majority of a soldiery were at least literate. So unusual a phenomenon raised eager inquiries as to the effect of education upon the individual personalities engaged in the desperate struggle. How will educated men react to tyrannous discipline, and how will they meet the bloody sword of their enemy? These were some of the questions asked. The resultant findings failed to give comfort to either the pacifist or the militarist, for men proved eager to fight for *moral* issues, but rebelled in the face of petty army disciplinary tyranny. In the former case education failed to reveal the truth or falseness of the moral issues, so-called; and in the second case education failed to find excuses for autocratic methods, whatever the necessity for its utilization. In other words, education, in *the* great test of its efficiency and moral worth, proved less than compelling and altogether inadequate.

Now facing an after-the-war-world intelligent people, from pole to pole, are earnestly seeking a panacea or cure for human ills and woe. Again education looms upon the horizon of hope as the *only* remedy—despite its failures—to be administered to a sick and dying world. Its efficacy is not doubted — for beneficent things have come from it in the past and will come from it again in the future—if it be properly administered. It is with jubilance that we greet the publication of so admirable a book on the theme as Dr. Henry Neumann's "Education for Moral Growth." The teacher and parent having the training of young people in their hands should read this book for encouragement and guidance; the preacher and social worker should read this book for inspiration and direction in leading people to seek the highest moral goals.

Pedagogues are more frequently interested in *methods* of teaching than in the *character* of the teaching, and in *specific*, rather than *comprehensive* goals. The moral implications and applications of education suffer in consequence of the heavy demands of economic necessity, forcing instruction into the channels of business and commercial ways. Utilitarianism has its advocates in the tens of thousands—and rightly enough so—but utility enthroned to the dethronement of spirituality is scarcely profitable, much less desirable in the long run of human progress. Dr. Neumann's thesis is based upon the premise of *character development* being essential to all education. Education that omits ethical standards of conduct is an unwieldy mass of fact having no purpose or goal in content. *"The gravest problem for school, home, and community today is not raised by the relatively small number of criminals. It is raised by the moral unenlightenment of the much larger number of quite respectable persons."* (P. 3.)

Gino Speranza, in a magazine series, sounding the popular tocsin of the alien danger to Anglo-Saxon civilization in these United States, asserts that the insurmountable difficulty preventing the absorption of alien peoples into the common life is primarily a difference in moral standards. The citizenry of New Orleans is cited as illustrative of the antagonistic legal ideals of a distinctive race. Dr. Neumann very definitely depends upon education for the remedy of lack of high aims and ideals, saying that "we must look to changes in our social mechanism, but the fundamental resource must be, in the largest sense, educational."

In a cogent chaper on the "Ethical Uses of Freedom," the author disabuses the mind of the reader of all of freedom's fictions. The gullibility of fairytale time lasts into the period of maturity for most of us. We preen ourselves in peacock fashion to the first note of freedom's glorification. We live on shibboleths to the detriment of the substance.

> Let us examine the ethical meanings which alone justify the honor in which freedom is rightly regarded. We surely do not want our youth to believe that conduct is made holy by being "the will of the people." Shall we teach that liberty means, "Go your own gait, but do not infringe upon the rights of others"? This has been the leading maxim of American life, and the harm accompanying the good it has wrought should warn us. . . In the second place, we cannot continue to teach the "let-things-alone" conception of freedom, because it has encouraged social irresponsibility. (Pp. 15, 16, 17.)
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> One of the gravest indictments of modern civilization is the manner in which the Industrial Revolution was permitted, on the whole, to work itself out under conceptions of liberty which encouraged gross irresponsibility. (P. 19.)
>
> Our crying need today is to recognize explicitly that no souls are saved alone but that we rise or fall as moral personalities with the help or hindrance we offer to the upward climb of others. . . For one thing, the accent would be shifted from the desire to enjoy privilege to the desire to fulfill duties more ably. (P. 21.)

The importance of training in character may be judged by the conception of an ideal democracy in which the free co-operation of everyone is encouraged. Lynchings and mob violence of any nature would not be condoned as vindications of justice, but would be recognized as violations of law in an ethically minded democracy. The ideal of self-government would be clarified, and a new public spirit would be engendered by moral education.

> A country is not free when its judgments are recorded in ignorance. It is not self-governing when it is misled by newspapers which either deliberately suppress or distort news, or else innocently convey misleading impressions by the undue prominence given to news of scandals, murders, athletic contests and the trivialities of ward politics and high "society." (P. 25.)

Dr. Neumann calls attention to "the need of respect for minorities." He shows that the freedom we enjoy is an inheritance from minority dissenters of an earlier day. "It is only as men learn to respect those who differ from themselves that they can prove themselves worthy of democratic citizenship." (P. 28.) Man, though a part of the natural order, is superbly different in that he is capable of being governed "by

*"Education for Moral Growth." By Henry Neumann, Ph.D. Appleton, N. Y.

what he knows ought to be." Ends rather than causes denominate and determine his choices. "Witness to the reality of this higher nature is borne every day." (P. 30.)

The political theory of equality is responsible for erroneous conceptions of individual capacity to the end that superior types are lowered to meet mediocre standards. "As a rallying cry against the aristocratic idea of a divine right to rule" it had practical value in the past, but as a challenge in the present it works harm. "It is inconsistent with the idea of liberty unless there is some guarantee that no one will use his freedom and his equality to work hurt." (P. 33.) Our ancestors began "more or less on an equal footing." The conditions have vastly changed, though men still think in the old terms. "The doctrine of equality as a protection in the law court is likewise untrue to the facts." (P. 34.) The poor man has neither time nor money to permit him to engage in protracted litigation for defense or justification or protection. Equality of opportunity is also a pleasant mental narcotic to lull lazy brains into peaceful sleep. Equal opportunity and equal capacity are both pure fictions. "Our conception of democratic opportunity would be truer to the facts if the uniqueness of each pupil were taken into account, and if unlike capacities were given their own chance to prove themselves." (Pp. 35-36.) This misconception of equality has affected adversely the political life of the state by the *election* of officials whose attainments are below the average, due to the " 'I'm-as-good-as-you-are' habit of mind which our equality catchwords encourage." The deadly sin of uniformity is another dire evil of a misconceived equality. "As against the uniformity idea, we need the reminder that culture is best in the measure that it diversifies the minds which it touches." (P. 39.) Like Mazzini, Dr. Neumann regards a "performance of duties" superior as a rule of life to a "demand for rights." He stresses the *worth* of a life in contradistinction to the *value* of a life, differentiating in this wise, in the words of Dr. Felix Adler: "Worth signifies indispensableness in a perfect whole. . . . And to ascribe to anyone the quality of worth . . . is to place him into that world, to regard him as potentially a member of it." (P. 51.) "Positive equality means, then, that in the work of bringing to light the hidden promise in men, all are needed." (P. 45.)

"Don't tread on the man below—he has the power to strike back . . . is a philosophy of strife." (P. 49.) Should living conditions be improved in order to placate man and avoid mischief? Dr. Neumann denounces this sort of practical expedient as hypocritical and futile. The spiritual ideal is that in which the perfect whole is co-ordinated in beneficial relationships, with men getting on well with each other, and strife forced into the limbo of archaism. The ordinary disillusions about people will then become a spiritual philosophy quickening the heart with new courage to face man's failures, and offering stimulating encouragement one to the other. "Such is the ethical ideal of progress—endless effort crowned by the ever truer sight of new and more superb outlooks, and more insistent recognition that the perfect life is real and commanding." (P. 61.)

In a consideration of what the ideals for our future culture should be, Dr. Neumann examines critically and analytically the contributions of Puritanism, 19th Century Nationalism, Classicism, Modern Science, Vocational Fitness and the Pragmatic Philosophy. "It is not fair," declares the author, "to overemphasize the repressive tendencies in Puritanism. Real as they were, we miss the point if we dwell exclusively upon the suppressions. These people had their constructive aspirations, or they would never have undergone their iron self-discipline." (P. 69.) The result of this spirit was an insistence upon compulsory schooling, marking "an important point in the history of American education." On the other hand, the Puritan's conception of an absolute Deity, his conviction of original sin, and assurance of hell and damnation, are not ideals that carry any benefit into this period. To the Puritan dominant force was the recognition of God's power within, and synonymous with the character of God. This individualistic conception of power made easy the Puritan's acquisition of modern business, and the disposition to judge and discriminate between people.

> In our politics we are still prone to denounce the "wicked" boss as the cause of our political disorders, instead of trying to see whether the boss himself is not symptomatic of an ill rooted more deeply and widely than in his own wicked disposition. (Pp. 77-78.)
>
> Puritanism is unfriendly to (the) social point of view. Its whole stress is individualistic. (P. 78.)
>
> America has still to learn that the masterful type of self-assertion so necessary in earlier days has become a positive hindrance in the more settled and congested life of today. (P. 81.)

The potency of Nationalism is recognized by the author. He contends that the school of today needs less to teach it than to "clarify, cleanse, and refine the patriotic impulses." "The difference between love of country as an ethical motive," as contrasted with the "herd impulse" is important. American nationalism has developed truths of value, such as the affiliation of single units (states), individual merit and not birth the essential thing, differences in orign no bar to citizenship, and a "common hope" rather than a "common past" more salutary in determining man's life. A constructive patriotism should be taught, in which *positive* —not negative—ideals of peace between nations are commonly understood. A higher type of democratic citizenship, increasingly responsible, may be capable of transforming society beyond present recognition.

The contributions of science, Dr. Neumann holds, have some ethical value, particularly the evolutionary theory, which has engendered the democratic temper, but its "usefulness is limited to supplying knowledge about instruments," and "do not give us ultimate ideals." (P. 124.)

On the subject of Vocational Fitness Dr. Neumann elaborates, not with the idea of "turning out hoardes of workers who will fit in a bit more efficiently with the demands of today's economic order," but "with the thought that the aim of one's work should be service." (Pp. 142-3.)

Dr. Neumann never loses sight of his main objective —the refining and purifying of human purpose in character and conduct. Every cultural device, activity and example figure in his amazingly comprehensive plan of educational direction and guidance. He never overemphasizes or overestimates the importance of one agency beyond another. All alike come within the scope of his discriminating test of moral fitness. The mere book laudation of moral qualities is too limited; "the actual performances of the pupils themselves" is "the most important moral agency, when it is rightly inspired." (P. 191.) Direct moral instruction is requisite as an explanation of experiences. Negations

and objurgative "don'ts" cannot be considered good moral instruction. "Moral education would be richly justified if it did no more than realize Plato's ideal of a 'training in respect to virtue which makes one hate what he ought to hate and love what he ought to love.'" (P. 236.) The author believes that the "relation between religion and character is close and important" but that "character determines the religious outlook quite as certainly as religion shapes character. . . ." (P. 331.) The banning of religious education in public schools is based on more than "a policy of neutrality." Religion is not the vital concern of this generation. Parents should recognize their responsibility to their children, as outside influences frequently work mischief in creating undesirable religious impressions.

"It is the writer's conviction that an ethical training—not moral instruction alone or any other single device, but an intensive cultivation of the moral life at its best"—will give the child "all the moral sustenance that a 'religious' education can give without binding him to beliefs he may feel called upon later to discard." (P. 334.)

The fine spirit of Dr. Neumann is revealed by his words—"It is a great day when one first appreciates that there is something holy about people, something that we can think of with only a kind of breathless awe and that forbids us to mistreat them." With such a spirit worlds of human beings are conquerable.

LILLIAN A. GARING.

CORRESPONDENCE

"IT ISN'T A THINK, IT'S A KNOW"

Editor of UNITY:

In mediæval times there was a "Children's Crusade." Today there seems to be a crusade against children—German children! Do those people who oppose helping these starving Germans stop to consider *why* General Allen, after several years spent in Germany, and his American experts, and all the Quakers and their skilled investigators, urge us to raise funds for relief? It is because they know the need! As Whistler said: "It isn't a think, it's a know!" The American Ambassador, Mr. Houghton, will say the same thing.

We hear of travelers who saw "healthy, happy children on Unter den Linden," etc. Did these travelers go into the hospitals, did they see many of these closed, or partly closed, for lack of funds? Have they not read simple facts about the lack of milk, of fats?

They talk of rich Germans. Before the war 3 per cent of the nation was "rich," now conditions are worse! Do the child enemies know that 80 per cent of all relief work for Germany since the armistice has been done by the Germans themselves; that the much talked of, and little known, Stinnes *et al.*, support great charity organizations, feeding hundreds of students, that all the great industries pay a per cent to charity? (These facts from Berlin Quaker headquarters.)

We hear of "huge purchases by the Germans of copper, cotton," and so on, in this country. If the child enemies will put aside their hate and think in terms of economics they must realize the great working class must be employed and material for their work must be obtained, otherwise we shall be asked to feed the entire nation! Were there not "capital outside of Germany" this material could not have been paid for—the German currency having been worthless.

The child enemies state that the German Government having wiped out all internal debts through having caused the mark to fall "is therefore in a fine position, and Germany the wealthiest country today"! If this is such a delightfully Utopian state of things why regret the present fall of the French franc, why try and prevent this financial panacea?

As to the "Germans traveling abroad": the fact seems to have been forgotten how expensive, for the native, life in Germany has become. I will give two examples of German families now in Italy, families of the "wealthy classes" whom I know. One, unable to keep their home as it is owing to the high cost of living and owing to the housing shortage, is altering their house so that several families may live in it. During the process of alteration these people could not afford a sojourn in a German hotel. Their relatives are likewise in financial difficulties, houses full, visits therefore practically impossible, so this family went to an Italian resort where they could remain more cheaply than in Germany.

The other family, to which I alluded, sublet their apartment, having a delicate son, ill from undernourishment and cold, who absolutely needed a change of air. The German mountain resorts were out of the question in price, so these people are now in southern Italy living economically on the rent from their apartment. For them to have remained in Germany would have been financially impossible. Of course there are selfish, extragant, undesirable people with German names. This sort of person exists in all nations. To say that they are typical of Germany, or very numerous there, is untrue.

One must remember that before the war the German Empire, smaller than one of our 48 states, Texas, had to import a third of its foodstuffs. The child enemies ignore the fact that under the Versailles Treaty much valuable territory has been seized, therefore Germany is more dependent than ever on foreign foodstuffs and less able to pay for them!

England is doing great work to help the Germans. Are we this side of the Atlantic so much more afraid of these children who, we are told, "will grow up to fight us" that we really, verbally and in print, advocate starving them, just as we did during the war?

Those Americans who consider General Allen and the Quakers and our other splendid relief workers "German propagandists" (or I believe the phrase now is: "victims of German propaganda") had better subscribe to the fortnightly leaflet "British Bureau for Ruhr Information," seven editors of which are members of Parliament. If Americans of this type have no faith in their own Prophets perhaps they will harken to the British German relief advocates.

EMIL AHLBORN,
Member Boston Relief Committee, Inc.

NON-RESISTANCE A WAY TO VIOLENCE?

Editor of UNITY:

Mr. Arthur L. Weatherly, in his plea for the Bok Plan, speaks of his difference of opinion with you, from the fact that to him Gandhi's program of non-resistance is a way to violence. Were Mr. Weatherly speaking out of a real understanding of the Gandhi idea rather than from a confusion of mind resulting from deliberately misleading anti-Gandhi propaganda, there would not be this difference. To say that non-co-operation is an appeal in the end to violence, is equivalent to saying that truth—which may be met with a lie (and very often is)—is an invitation to untruth. Both are appeals to the opponents to the end of righteousness, which, being met with a refusal, cannot be themselves characterized as unrighteous. And here, let me say, that I am speaking of non-co-operation as its great originator has formulated and practiced it,—not as anyone, accepting the letter and missing the spirit, may make a convenience of it.

Non-co-operation, says Gandhi, can only be efficacious in an atmosphere of non-violence and good-will—only *when the cause is just* (and a "just" cause, as this man sees it) could not possibly encompass the starving of babies. A man who, in the exercise of his method of fighting, would stop proceedings when the "enemy" got into trouble (as Gandhi did thrice in South Africa) and go to their assistance, should not be made to bear the onus of advocating a program intended to bring the violence it professes to make of no avail. With Gandhi, as I venture to say with no other man living today, profession and practice go hand in hand. In proof of this, one has only to recall the Chauri-Chaura incident, when the non-co-operators (incited without a doubt by *agents provocateur*) caused the death of twenty-seven policemen—hardly a circumstance compared with the deliberate massacre of Indians at Amritsar, when the casualties were about 500 killed and three times as many injured—and Gandhi at the risk of his life, fasted for five days. But this was not all. He rescinded his order for Civil disobedience in Bardoli, thereby halting the course of the revolutionary movement, and bringing upon himself the reproaches of his countrymen—and of the world, in so far as it was interested in the progress of this new movement. One who can hold such a man, or his program, responsible for the suffering in Lancashire—rather than the government which refuses his admittedly moderate demands for

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

AMERICA'S ORPHAN WARDS.

Dr. James L. Barton, Secretary of the American Board and Chairman of the Near East Relief, recently made the following statement in the daily press:

Many inquiries indicate a widespread misunderstanding about the present needs of the Near East Relief.

In round numbers there are some 50,000 children, with no known relatives, dependent for shelter, clothing, food, and life upon that organization. To close the doors against them now, unaided and unprotected, would be paramount to condemning them to penury or death or to something even worse. These children are in a land of extreme poverty, crowded with the poor and destitute and starving. To close the orphanages now would turn into the streets these wards of America who live today because of the loving sympathy of the people of America.

As rapidly as possible these children are being graduated into self-support, but, until then, American philanthropy must not fail, and I am sure it will not. If it materially falls off, the process of expulsion must begin.

STUDENT FEDERATION CONFERENCE

The second annual conference of the Student Federation of Religious Liberals which was formed at Star Island in July, 1923, and which is affiliated with the National Federation of Religious Liberals, will be held from June 21st to 28th at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. It is hoped that last year's enrollment of 265, whose college affiliations represented 75 colleges and universities in twenty states and Canada, will be exceeded at the coming Conference, and that the constituency represented will be that increasingly large number of men and women in the colleges who are taking a definitely liberal stand on religious questions.

Following a welcome meeting Saturday evening, June 21st, there will be meetings on Sunday morning and evening, and from Monday to Friday a closely integrated program of which the chief features will be:

General Scheme

Morning prayer.

Morning lecture each day.

Round table Discussions on subjects related to the announced theme of the day.

Five o'clock talks in the Open.

Evening meeting (four).

Monday

Morning lecture: "Religion at Work."

Round Table No. 1: "Christianity and Industry."

Round Table No. 2: "The Christian Spirit in Public Service and Politics."

Five o'clock talk: "Religious Faith and Applied Science."

Evening meeting: "The Christian Spirit in Industry and Politics."

Tuesday

Morning lecture: "The World Situation."

Round Table No. 3: "War and Peace."

Round Table No. 4: "Race Problems."

Five o'clock talk: "The Moral Leadership of the World."

Evening meeting: "International Ideals."

Wednesday

Morning lecture: "The New Reformation in Religion."

Round Table No. 5: "The Personal Life of the Modern Christian Student."

Round Table No. 6: "Religion and College Life."

Five o'clock talk: "Faith and Prayer."

Thursday

Morning lecture: "Leadership for Today in Religion."

Round Table No. 7: "The Modern Spirit in the Work and Worship of the Church."

Round Table No. 8: "The Ministry of Religion."

Five o'clock talk: "Faith and a Life-work."

Friday

Morning lecture: "Religion for the New World."

Round Table Committees will develop their findings and prepare resolutions for the closing meeting.

Five o'clock talk: "Faith and Service."

Evening meeting: (a) Reports on findings, resolutions, etc.; (b) Report of Conference leaders on future policy of our Federation; (c) Closing address.

The following have accepted the invitation to speak during the Conference:

Hon. J. Weston Allen, Newton Highlands, Mass.

Dean John Murray Atwood, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y.

President Kenyon L. Butterfield, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Mass.

Mrs. Richard C. Cabot, Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. Frank C. Doan, Ph.D., Rochester, N. Y.

India's self-government *within* a Commonwealth of Nations—must find it quite as difficult to accept the teachings of Jesus, of which a blind, greed-obsessed, war-mad Christian world make mock, day in and day out.

Lancashire suffers momentarily, so to speak, by this refusal of an exploiting bureaucracy to permit a great people to rule itself in its own way; India has literally starved for more than a century, as taxes and famines increased steadily; as the national welfare of India retrograded as that of England went forward, thanks to the fabled "wealth of the Indies"; as the death rate of Indian babies increased most terribly and the average age at death of Indians went down to 23 years. The British government has only to speak the word, and trade and good relations with England will be resumed. *That* is the program of the man whose last admonition, on going to jail, was to make easy the minds of the Englishmen; who said, "My appeal is to the highest and best in the English," adding that to do otherwise would argue a spiritual lack in the Indians themselves.

The question narrows down to this, as I see it—are the exploited of the earth to take to the weapon of Jesus of Nazareth, of the Buddha, of Gandhi, and of the great souls of all time; or are they to take to "the sword" that has ruined individuals and organizations, and devastated countries and nations; or are they to remain weaponless in the face of their oppressors? Surely Mr. Weatherly would not advocate the last! Rather would he not have, I am sure, a group who would make use of the machinery of non-co-operation, even though they failed to embody the ideas of *non-reprisal, non-hate, and non-violence* that are the distinguishing features of the Gandhi program. For that would be a step in the direction of the better way, at least; and Mr. Weatherly admits the necessity of beginning where humanity stands and going ahead a step at a time. Better, however, the whole Gandhi idea, which *is* in truth, the Way of Love. What Mr. Weatherly does not see is that the "extremist" is the force that pulls humanity along faster than it would ordinarily move—and farther! He is the force that, in the last analysis, overcomes the pull of the reaction, and as such, is a vital necessity at all times and in all places. A Gandhi offsets the power of a Foch—a Romain Rolland or a Holmes, the efforts of a Lloyd George or a Churchill—an Indian counteracts the militarism of the western world, fast going on the rocks as a result of that militarism. Will Mr. Weatherly pull with the one side, hang back with the other, or make one of the indifferent mass between, which constitutes the most terrible menace to the progress of the human race? The man on the fence is the greatest obstacle to a peaceful world. The Bok plan satisfies him that his position is tenable: the Gandhi idea makes him supremely uncomfortable. Will not Mr. Weatherly reconsider?

GRACE GILMAN.

New York City, February 26, 1924.

IN A LETTER FROM GERMANY.

". . . I think that, outside of Germany, things are settling down fairly well. . . But the conditions in the interior of Germany were unspeakably sad, and they are still very bad. The travelers who see little but the ports and Berlin have no idea of the suffering."—D. S.

Rev. Frederick R. Griffin, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. John H. Melish, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Professor Clarence R. Skinner, Tufts College.

Rev. Vivian T. Pomeroy, Milton, Mass.

President Mary E. Woolley, Mount Holyoke College.

Rev. Harold E. B. Speight, Boston, Mass.

It is planned that the Round Table Conferences are to be in the hands of student leaders and the findings developed by committees appointed by groups themselves, but it is hoped to have one counsellor for each discussion group to assist in guiding discussion and formulate conclusions. The devotional services will be taken by student leaders.

Mount Holyoke College has a beautiful setting in the Massachusetts Berkshires, the accommodations will be excellent, the conference ground is easy of access, being close to Springfield, and everything is in order to provide a delightful and helpful week. Applications should be sent in to Headquarters, 16 Beacon Street, Boston, as early as possible.

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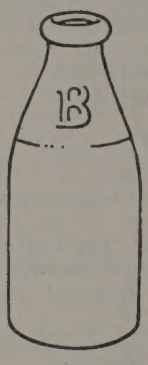

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